

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

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UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 2 ROME 4881

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PFOR, UR, US, IT
SUBJECT: USA INSTITUTE MEMBERS GIVE INTERVIEW TO ITALIAN DAILY

MARCH 24 ISSUE OF TURIN DAILY /LA STAMPA/ CONTAINS AN INTERVIEW
BETWEEN NEWSPAPER'S MOSCOW CORRESPONDENT AND EDWARD IVANIAN
AND YURIY DAVIDOV OF THE USA INSTITUTE IN MOSCOW.
GIVEN PROXIMITY OF SECRETARY VANCE'S VISIT TO MOSCOW AND THE
SUBJECTS DISCUSSED WE ARE TRANSMITTING AN INFORMAL EMBASSY
TRANSLATION OF THE INTERVIEW.

Q. IS THERE SOME NOSTALGIA FOR FORD AND KISSINGER?

A. THE IMPORTANT THING IS NOT THAT ON THE OTHER SIDE OF THE
TABLE THERE ARE REPUBLICANS OR DEMOCRATS, BUT RATHER WHETHER
THERE IS OR IS NOT THE DESIRE TO FIND AN AGREEMENT. WITH FORD
WE BUILT SOMETHING, THE OBLIGATIONS OF VLADIVOSTOCK. HOWEVER,
FROM MID-1975 AND FOR THE ENTIRE FOLLOWING YEAR, EVERYTHING WAS
BLOCKED. AND WE ARE PREOCCUPIED BY THIS BECAUSE TO LOSE SO MUCH
TIME MEANS NOT ONLY TO REMAIN IN PLACE BUT TO TURN BACK:
DURING THE PAST YEAR AND A HALF NEW ARMS HAVE BEEN CREATED,
SOME OF WHICH ARE NOW IN SERIAL PRODUCTION. THUS, WE ARE IN
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A HURRY TO RESUME THE NEGOTIATIONS.

Q. CARTER REJECTS THE IDEA OF LINKAGE, A POINT THAT THE
SOVIET LEADERS DO NOT SEEM TO ACCEPT.

A. (IVANIAN) WHEN WE SPEAK OF DETENTE, WE DO NOT FORGET
THAT WE HAVE DIFFERENT SOCIAL SYSTEMS, WITH DIFFERING POINTS

OF VIEW. WE DO NOT PRETEND TO PREVENT THE USA FROM CRITICIZING US, NOR DO WE INTEND TO CEASE CRITICIZING THEM. BUT THE CRITICISM SHOULD NOT BECOME INFERENCE, BECAUSE THEN THE CONSEQUENCES BECOME INEVITABLE.

Q. AND WHEN THE AMERICAN PRESIDENT WRITES TO SACHAROV OR RECEIVES BUKOVSKIY AT THE WHITE HOUSE, IN YOUR OPINION DOES THIS CROSS THE FRONTIERS OF CRITICISM?

A. (IVANIAN) TRY TO IMAGINE, AND THE EXAMPLE IS ABSURD, THAT DANIEL ELLSBERG, THE JOURNALIST INVOLVED WITH THE PENTAGON PAPERS, HAD CONTACTS WITH SOVIET JOURNALISTS AND DIPLOMATS; DO YOU THINK THAT WE WOULD REMAIN FREE? (ITALIAN JOURNALIST INTERJECTED THAT THE FACT REMAINS THAT HE IS FREE). YES, YES, HOWEVER, IT IS WELL KNOWN THAT SOME DISSIDENTS, SUCH AS SACHAROV, RECEIVE AMERICAN MONEY AND THEY DO NOT BOTHER TO HIDE THIS. WE DO NOT INVOLVE OURSELVES IN THE QUESTION OF THE INDIANS, AND OUR RELATIONS WITH THE AMERICAN COMMUNIST PARTY ARE CARRIED OUT PUBLICLY. WE DO NOT WISH ANY INTERNATIONAL LAW. (SIC).

Q. THUS, ALL THE DISSIDENTS ARE AMERICAN AGENTS AND THEREFORE ONE ONLY NEEDS TO WRITE A PHRASE AGAINST THE REGIME TO RECEIVE A LENGTHY PRISON SENTENCE?

A. (DAVIDOV) WE HAVE OUR CONCEPT OF HUMAN RIGHTS, BUT, IN ANY EVENT, I ASK MYSELF WHY THE AMERICANS ARE SO PREOCCUPIED ABOUT THEIR RESPECT IN THE USSR AND NOT IN CHILE OR SOUTH KOREA WHERE LOTS OF PEOPLE ARE BEING KILLED. (IVANIAN) WE ACT ON THE UNCLASSIFIED

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BASIS OF OUR LAWS. THERE ARE MANY SUCH LAWS IN THE US WHICH WE DO NOT LIKE, BUT IT IS NOT FOR THIS REASON THAT WE DO NOT DISCUSS THEM. WE ARE CONVINCED THAT OUTSIDE PRESSURE DOES NOT PRODUCE CHANGES. THE US COULD PERHAPS CHANGE THE LAWS OF PUERTO RICO, IF THEY AREN'T PLEASING TO THEM. BUT NOT THOSE OF THE USSR WHICH IS A GREAT POWER.

Q. ARE WE THEN RISKING A RETURN TO THE COLD WAR?

A. (DAVIDOV) THEY ACCUSE US OF NOT RESPECTING THE HELSINKI ACCORDS. IN SUCH A CASE, IT WOULD BE USELESS TO SPEAK; HOWEVER THEY TELL US THAT THEY ARE READY FOR A DIALOGUE--WHERE IS THE LOGIC? (IVANIAN) LISTEN, THEY ACCUSE US OF WANTING TO HAVE MILITARY SUPREMACY, BUT WE ARE THE FIRST ONES TO WANT TO LIMIT THE ARMS. AND ALL TYPES WITHOUT EXCEPTION.

Q. BUT THAT OF AN "ATOMIC PEACE" AS THE FIRST STAGE OF A GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT IS A PROBLEM WITH VARIOUS ASPECTS. IT IS NECESSARY TO CLARIFY THIS.

A. (DAVIDOV) CARTER SAID THAT WE WOULD REDUCE MILITARY SPENDING. UNTIL NOW HE HAS NOT DONE THIS. WE KNOW THAT THERE EXIST CONTRASTING INTERESTS, THOSE OF THE MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX, AND WE TAKE NOTE OF THESE. BUT OF THE AMERICAN PRESIDENT, WE KNOW, UNTIL NOW, ONLY THE INTENTIONS AND NOT THE FACTS.

Q. DOESN'T THE WARNKE NOMINATION SEEM A POSITIVE SIGN?

A. (DAVIDOV) WE HOPE SO...WE INSIST, HOWEVER, THAT THE SOVIET MILITARY DANGER IS A MYTH FABRICATED BY ENEMIES OF PEACE.

Q. WHAT WILL YOU TALK ABOUT WITH SECRETARY VANCE?

A. THE VISIT OF THE SECRETARY, WHOM WE AWAIT HERE ON MONDAY, MARCH 28, REPRESENTS THE FIRST CONTACT AT A HIGH LEVEL
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WITH THE DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATION. WE AWAIT THE RESUMPTION OF SALT. BUT IF VANCE BRINGS A PROPOSAL TO ELIMINATE FROM THE TALKS AT VIENNA OUR BACKFIRE AIRCRAFT AS WELL AS THE MODERN CRUISE MISSILE, THEN THIS WILL COMPLICATE THINGS. BECAUSE THE AMERICAN ROCKET IS CERTAINLY A STRATEGIC WEAPON, WHILE OUR AIRCRAFT IS NOT FOR THE SIMPLE REASON THAT IF ONE HYPOTHEZIZES THAT IT COULD REACH THE US, IT DOES NOT HAVE SUFFICIENT AUTONOMY TO RETURN TO ITS BASE AND OUR PILOTS ARE NOT OF THE /KAMIKAZE/ TYPE.

(MORE COMING)

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IN THE WAY OF A PERSONAL OPINION NOT IN A
DIRECT QUOTE, DAVIDOV REPORTEDLY WENT ON TO SAY THAT THE SOVIETS
COULD EXCLUDE BACKFIRE AND CRUISE FROM THE NEGOTIATIONS TO
AVOID AN IMPASSE ON THE CONDITION THAT THE TWO PARTIES WOULD
PROCEED IMMEDIATELY FROM SALT II TO SALT III, CEASING, IN
THE MEANTIME, DEVELOPMENT OF BOTH THE CRUISE AND THE BACKFIRE.
IVANIAN THEN ADDED THAT QUOTE OTHERWISE, WE WOULD HAVE TO BEGIN
PRODUCTION OF OTHER MISSILES. END QUOTE.

Q. THAT WOULD MEAN THAT IN ANY CASE YOU WOULD NOT INCLUDE IN
THE NEGOTIATING PACKAGE, YOUR LATEST BOMBER?

A. (IVANIAN) THESE THINGS WE EXAMINE PRIVATELY; NOW WE ARE
HYPOTHESIZING.

Q. THE SOVIETS FAVOR A BALANCED REDUCTION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS
BECAUSE OF THEIR CONVENTIONAL SUPERIORITY. YOUR COMMENT.

A. (IVANIAN) THE WEST WISHES TO DEFEND ITSELF FROM THE USSR
AND WHEN SECURE IN THIS RESPECT FEEL CALM, BUT WE HAVE TO
DEFEND OURSELVES FROM THE WEST AND FROM THE EAST, INCLUDING
CHINA, YOU UNDERSTAND. THUS WE CANNOT REDUCE OUR CONVENTIONAL
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ARMS. (DAVIDOV) DON'T FORGET THAT IN FEBRUARY 1976 WE PROPOSED
AT VIENNA A REDUCTION OF SOVIET AND AMERICAN FORCES IN EQUAL
PERCENTAGES.

Q. THIS DOESN'T GET AT THE HEART OF THE QUESTION IN THAT THE
SOVIET FORCES REMAIN STRONGER.

A. NO, SINCE WE CALCULATE NOT ONLY THE AMERICAN TROOPS BUT ALSO
THE TOTALITY OF THE NATO FORCES. HOWEVER, THIS IS A FALSE
PROBLEM IN THAT EVERYONE KNOWS WELL THAT IN MODERN WARFARE,
SEVERAL TENS OF THOUSANDS OF TROOPS MORE OR LESS DOES NOT HAVE
ANY IMPORTANCE.
THUS, THE TRUE PROBLEM IS POLITICAL. DOES THE USSR WISH TO
ATTACK THE WEST? NO ONE SAYS THIS.

Q. BUT THE USSR COULD USE ITS MILITARY POWER FOR
POLITICAL PRESSURE.

A. (DAVIDOV) NOT EVEN THIS BECAUSE, EVEN ADMITTING THAT OUR

FORCES COULD ARRIVE IN 24 HOURS AT THE ENGLISH CHANNEL, HOW
COULD WE MAINTAIN AN OCCUPATION IN SUCH VAST TERRITORIES.

Q. AN EVALUATION OF THE VANCE VISIT?

A. WE DO NOT EXPECT TO RESOLVE EVERYTHING IMMEDIATELY.
THAT WOULD BE ILLUSORY. HOWEVER, WE COUNT ON CONCLUDING SALT
II BEFORE THE OCTOBER 3 DEADLINE. WE KNOW PERSONALLY THE
SECRETARY OF STATE. HE IS A PERSON WHO IS EXPERT AND ATTENTIVE.
WE HOPE THAT HE IS NOT INTENDING TO MAKE ONLY A COURTESY
VISIT.

Q. WILL BREZHNEV VISIT THE US BEFORE THE END OF THE YEAR?

A. (IVANIAN) THE IDEA IS THAT OF PRESIDENT CARTER, AND
CERTAINLY OUR SECRETARY WOULD NOT GO FOR TOURISTIC PURPOSES
ONLY. GARDNER
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